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The Publicity of Monticello: A Private Home as Emblem and Means

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The next Augustan age will dawn on the other side of the Atlantic. There will, perhaps, be a Thucydides at Boston, a Xenophon at New York, and, in time, a Virgil at Mexico, and a Newton at Peru. At last, some curious traveller from Lima will visit England and give a description of the ruins of St. Paul's, like the editions of Balbec and Palmyra.
- Horace Walpole[1]

In the course of the study of Thomas Jefferson as architect, which began in earnest in 1916 with Fiske Kimball's landmark study *Thomas Jefferson, Architect*, only recently have historians began to break out of the shell that Kimball placed around Jefferson's architecture. As Buford Pickens argues, Kimball's analysis of Jefferson's architecture was skewed by his own leanings towards "literal interpretation" of classical forms.[2] As a result, Jefferson is too often described as a strict classical revivalist. While it is undeniable that Jefferson drew heavily upon Palladian ideas and the classical structures he studied while serving as Minister to France, Kimball and those after him largely denied Jefferson's architecture any aspect of novelty or efficiency. Recently, however, architectural historians have begun to reassess Jefferson's work as an architect, placing it properly within its context in rural Virginia and examining it alongside Jefferson's complete published letters.[3] It is in this burgeoning field that my analysis of Monticello falls; I wish to move away from the paradox that Pickens has identified in the study of Jefferson's architecture and politics: Jefferson "in politics and science, the radical, ahead of his time, overthrowing tradition; but in architecture, the provincial worshipper of antiquity, whose every design must of necessity be tagged to some specific source."[4] In the past scholars have divided Jefferson's interest in politics and architecture into two completely separate spheres that do not intersect, however, this representation is neither true to Jefferson's life nor reasonable to assume. I plan to study Monticello from a holistic perspective, taking into account the influence that Jefferson's political philosophies had on his architecture and bringing to light the connection that exists between these two spheres. I have found it fitting to study in particular Jefferson's home Monticello, a work that in many ways epitomizes Jefferson's philosophy on architecture, aesthetics, and politics.

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[1] Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, November 24, 1774.
[2] Buford Pickens, "Thomas Jefferson as Revolutionary Architect," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 34 (Dec., 1975): 257-258.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

Monticello was the private home of Thomas Jefferson, situated atop a hill outside of Charlottesville, Virginia. Here, Jefferson spent nearly 60 years, from 1769 to his death in 1826, designing, building, rebuilding, and furnishing the house.[5] Monticello consumed much of his time when not in office, and the building was never truly finished. In light of this, to examine Monticello in the context of Jefferson's political and aesthetic views is apt. Monticello was merely one aspect of Jefferson's attempt to construct his vision of America. Monticello was not an end in itself; it was instead a means by which Jefferson hoped to transform America into a virtuous Republic**.** It functioned, I argue, as both a personal emblem of Jefferson's aesthetic and political philosophies, as well as a didactic tool through which Jefferson could instruct and improve the citizenry of America. This is reflected in nearly all of Jefferson's other building projects, but Monticello is perhaps where all of these aspects can be seen and studied with the greatest detail. Monticello was, as Pickens has stated, a revolutionary building that was, I argue, ultimately intended to create and reflect the vision of America that Jefferson held.

In function, this paper will be discussed in two main sections: the first examines Monticello as a personal emblem of Jefferson's aesthetic and political philosophy; the second explores Monticello as a means to an end. The study of both is essential to fully understanding both the significance of Monticello in its time period and the man who built it. By studying Monticello in this manner we can not only begin to grasp how Jefferson politicized architecture – by this I mean the way that Jefferson utilized Monticello as a means of furthering his political agenda – as a means of founding a nation, but we can also gain insight into the personal views of the man who had a large part in shaping the country that exists today.

Additionally, an aspect of Monticello that is often inadequately stressed is the political atmosphere in which it was constructed. Its construction spanned the entire Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 and was witness to the birth of a successful revolutionary government. Monticello was an attempt to create a solid foundation for a state that had been tumultuous for decades previous, and it is inherent that Jefferson attempted to politicize the building as a means to accomplish his personal political agenda. In order to carry this out, Jefferson conceived Monticello as a home that was both private and public. He sought not to reduce this dialectic to a choice between either private and public, but instead to resolve the contradiction between the two in order to build a unified space wherein guests would be welcomed into a private home but

[5] Merrill D. Peterson, *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation: A Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 23.

only given access to areas of the home that Jefferson intended, areas of the home that Jefferson designed specifically to influence his visitors. By examining Monticello through the lens of a visitor we can gain insight into how the house was used by Jefferson to both express his own opinions and to act as a didactic tool. Up until this point, scholarly work on the publicity[6] of Monticello has been largely reduced to brief analyses of the foyer of the home, but I plan to carry out a study of all of the areas that visitors would have visited, viewing each as a multifaceted space that was designed to both reflect Jefferson's views and instruct his visitors while still functioning as a space that was ultimately a home.

First it is important to give a brief overview of the house itself, Monticello is situated on a large hill, approximately 850 feet in elevation, just a few miles outside of Charlottesville, VA.[7] Visitors would arrive by taking a winding road up the hillside and then come upon the eastern entrance of the house. The eastern entrance is highlighted by a Doric-ordered portico topped with a triangular pediment around 25 feet tall. Once inside, the entrance hall is 18"6' high. The house is divided along an east/west axis with the southern half of the house being devoted mainly to Jefferson's bedroom and library while the northern half of the house is home to the dining room, tea room, and guest bedrooms. Through this study my analysis will be focused upon the eastern entrance to the house and the entrance hall, areas of the house that would have been points of emphasis for visitors to Monticello.

Part One: Monticello as Emblem

Buildings, when examined closely, will often reveal aspects of their designer and the context in which they were built. Monticello is no different, yet even more so than others it can illustrate the life of its designer with detail. When studied, it reveals much about Jefferson's life in a way that not many buildings can do. This is due largely to the particular circumstances under which the house was built. Firstly, Jefferson originally intended for an English architect to design and build the home.[8] When he discovered that he could not hire one, he decided to design the house himself instead of hiring an American architect. Secondly, Jefferson labored over Monticello his entire life, never finishing it completely. It was the source of his massive debt but

[6] Publicity, in the context of this paper, refers to qualities of Monticello that were intended to convey specific ideas and concepts to its visitors in areas of the home that would have been easily available to visitors.
[7] For images and floorplans of Monticello, visit: http://www.monticello.org/site/house-and-gardens/house-image-gallery
[8] Peterson, *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation*, 23.

at the same time was the activity that made him happiest.[9] As a result, Monticello is a true reflection of the man who built it, and in that light we can view the home as a document of the life of Thomas Jefferson. Paul Zanker has argued for the reevaluation of art and architecture as documents of the past, stating: "Art and architecture are mirrors of society. They reflect the state of its values, especially in times of crisis or transition."[10] Zanker goes on to state how, while the buildings themselves can be viable documents of the past, it is necessary to examine them in context with the history that they were built in. As a result, buildings can be evaluated both as a reflection of society at that time (albeit through the lens of the architect), as well as proponents of change that can alter the history that they are a part of.

Monticello, when examined with Zanker's argument in mind, can be seen as a built history of the transition from colony to republic that America underwent during the Revolutionary Era, through the lens of Thomas Jefferson himself. The first, and most noticeable aspect of Monticello that reflects the personal life of Jefferson is the heavy influence of classical architecture. Even at the age of 28, when Jefferson had scarcely traveled outside of Virginia, the original plans for Monticello were littered with classical forms and structures. The original plans for Monticello, before Jefferson's time in France, consisted of a rectangular, two-story floor plan.[11] The most prominent classical features were the Doric ordered first story and Ionic ordered second story of the eastern front of the house in addition to the triangular pediment that would have topped the second story. I argue that the motivation for selecting this style of architecture over the more common Georgian style of the time was a result of Jefferson's classical education and subsequent study of Greek and Roman society. Moreover, the influence of classical values and aesthetics can be seen elsewhere in Jefferson's life, most notably in his political writings, and so it can be reasoned that it was not simply an aesthetic decision which made Jefferson base Monticello off of classical forms, but it was in fact a deeply personal decision that reflected his own personal political and aesthetic philosophies that were, in part, heavily indebted to the ancients.

Jefferson began his classical education at the family home at Shadwell at the age of nine under the Reverend William Douglas. Under Douglas Jefferson began his formal education and was taught both Latin and Greek. Jefferson's fascination with these languages would be furthered in 1758 when he left home and began to study under the Reverend James Maury, a man

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[9] Ibid., 538-539.
[10] Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), v.
[11] Gene Waddell, "The First Monticello," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 46 (1987): 14-16.

whom Jefferson described as "a correct, classical scholar."[12] However, the circumstances under which Jefferson left to study with Maury are of significance. Peter Jefferson, Thomas's father, died in 1757. A prominent citizen of Goochland County and Albemarle County, he had held a variety of civic positions including local magistrate, county surveyor, county lieutenant (the chief military officer), and a member of the House of Burgesses. His chief business was tobacco planting, and left behind at his death 7,500 acres of land to his children.[13] Peter Jefferson's wealth enabled Jefferson to move away from the family estate in order to pursue his education, a luxury that was essential to the cultivation of Jefferson's talents as a lawyer, statesman, and intellectual. Jefferson would eventually build Monticello on the land that his father left to him, but immediately following his death in 1757 Jefferson moved to the home of the Rev. James Maury to advance his studies.

At Maury's home, Jefferson was, for the first time, exposed to a library. Maury had approximately 400 volumes in his private collection. Jefferson's knowledge of the classics distended, further reinforcing the centrality of ancient Greece and Rome in his intellectual development.[14] After three years under Maury's tutelage, Jefferson moved to Williamsburg and enrolled at the College of William and Mary in 1760. From 1760 to 1762, Jefferson pursued his studies under Dr. William Small. Dr. Small, a professor from Scotland, was the only non-clergy faculty member at the time. He lectured to Jefferson on a wide range of topics, from mathematics and science to history and rhetoric. Small was a thinker of the Enlightenment, and as such taught Jefferson not in a religious, rote manner, but in a rational and liberal way.[15] Soon after arriving in Williamsburg, Jefferson became a daily companion to Small. In his *Autobiography*, Jefferson writes how this relationship gave him his first insight and interest into the functions of society: "from his conversation I got my first views of the expansion of science & of the system of things in which we are placed."[16] In 1762, Dr. Small returned to Europe, but before he did, he ensured that Jefferson would pursue his studies under George Wythe.

For the next five years, Jefferson was not only taught by Wythe, but was also mentored, befriended, and introduced to Virginia's upper class social life by him. Wythe was at this time thirty-five and already one of the most respected lawyers of the bar. He had a commanding

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[12] Peterson, *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation*, 8.
[13] Ibid., 9.
[14] Ibid., 8.
[15] Ibid., 12.
[16] Thomas Jefferson, "Autobiography," in *Thomas Jefferson : Writings : Autobiography / Notes on the State of Virginia / Public and Private Papers / Addresses / Letters*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (Library of America, 1984), 4.

knowledge of the classics, and with enthusiasm studied the law and literature of Greek and Roman societies. Jefferson cultivated his own love of Attic and Roman studies under Wythe, and learned law in the context of history and philosophy, not merely as a profession. Wythe would continue to be a great friend of Jefferson throughout his life, ultimately signing the Declaration of Independence and becoming Chancellor of Virginia.[17] To Jefferson, "[Wythe was] the Cato of his country without the avarice of the Roman."[18]

Jefferson left his studies under Wythe in 1767 to become a member of the General Court of Virginia. It was only two years later, in 1769, that Jefferson began work on Monticello. Immediately, the home began to reflect the intellectual and political values of the young Jefferson, which at this point were largely a fusion of classical and Enlightenment views. Aesthetically, Jefferson's views were primarily, as Kenneth Hafertepe argues, based upon the works of Enlightenment authors, and in particular, upon the works of Lord Kames.[19] Jefferson first encountered Kames's work at the College of William and Mary, later recommending three of Kames's works, *Priciples of Equity, Elements of Criticism,* and *Essays on Morality and Natural Religion*, to his friend Robert Skipworh in a letter "List of Books for a Private Library."[20]

Lord Kames was an Enlightenment philosopher who wrote extensively on the arts and architecture. Briefly, Kames saw that there were two types of beauty, intrinsic and relative. Intrinsic beauty is possessed by all humans and to experience it one only needs to see beauty, which can be found in both "the windings of a serpentine river" and in "the good proportions of a building or column." Relative beauty, on the other hand, was different for each person depending on their personal experience and opinion. In his *Elements of Criticism*, Kames asserts that, concerning beauty, "If a thing be universal, it must be natural."[21] Jefferson's views on beauty were much the same as Kames's, believing in the innate sense of beauty and morality that Kames wrote of.[22] This view, I posit, eventually led to Jefferson's decision to draw heavily upon classical forms for his design of Monticello. These forms can be seen in the central dome of Monticello, on the triangular pediments, porticos, and Doric columns on both the eastern and western fronts. Enlightenment thinkers, including Jefferson and Kames, believed that the basic structures of classical architecture, the circle, square, and triangle, were natural shapes. In

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[17] Peterson, *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation*, 14.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Kenneth Hafertepe, "An Inquiry Into Thomas Jefferson's Ideas of Beauty," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59 (Jun., 200): 216-217
[20] Ibid., 217
[21] Lord Henry Home Kames, *Elements of Criticism*, 3: 334-335
[22] Hafertepe, "An Inquiry Into Thomas Jefferson's Ideas of Beauty," 219.

addition to the belief in the naturalness of classical shapes, these shapes were also, to Enlightenment thinkers the essence of reason and rational thinking. Accordingly, the thinkers of the Enlightenment looked to these models and as way to display the modernity of their movement towards reason and science.[23] Therefore, if these were to Jefferson natural structures, then they were universally beautiful. As a result, Jefferson drew upon these simple shapes for the bulk of the design for Monticello, which became both modern and ancient as it fused the aesthetics of the Enlightenment and the classics. Monticello thus functions as an emblem of Jefferson's personal views on aesthetic philosophy.

However, it is important to take into account the function of Monticello as a home and as the product of a man whose opinions and personal philosophies changed over time, and occasionally differed because of whom he was discussing the matter with. Eleanor Berman has said of the variance of Jefferson's views: "His aesthetic ideas express in effect a constellation of attitudes which are communicated via hundreds of observations occurring in all sorts of other connections throughout his voluminous writings."[24] Monticello itself reflects this statement, as it is a structure that ran its life parallel to that of Jefferson with all the changes that came with it. This, however, makes our viewing of Monticello as an emblem that much more significant. It does not highlight simply one era in Jefferson's life and the views embodied at that time, instead it functions as a lifetime diary of Jefferson's views on art, architecture, and politics. Such a singular building thus has great value because when studied it can reveal the course of Jefferson's architectural thought, from largely Palladian in his younger years, to a fusion of modern European and Classical styles in his later years as a result of his time in Paris, his first hand experiences with Roman Ruins, and the maturity of his intelligence.

As explained earlier, Monticello reflects Jefferson's classical education and Enlightenment views on aesthetics. In addition to this, the structural interior of the house reflects Jefferson's views of status and society, something that can be deduced from, amongst other factors, the lack of a central staircase. The construction of Monticello II (Monticello I was largely destroyed in 1796) differed in many significant ways from Monticello I, many of which reflected Jefferson's time spent as Minister to Paris (1784-1789). As stated before, Monticello I was a two-story building. Upon returning from France, however, Monticello was redesigned as a single story building. In October 1784, Jefferson traveled to Paris and took up residence at the

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[23] Pickens, "Thomas Jefferson as Revolutionary Architect," 259.
[24] William Howard Adams, ed., *The Eye of Thomas Jefferson* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1922), xxxviii.

Hotel de Landron, No. 5, Cul-de-sac Taitbout. Shortly thereafter, in 1785, Benjamin Franklin resigned from the post of office of Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of Louis XVI, leaving Jefferson to fill the post. He did so promptly, moving his residence to the Hotel de Langeac. When Jefferson left Paris in September 1789, he took home 85 crates of belongings, many of which were furniture and art.[25] In Paris, Jefferson studied contemporary art and architecture with greater intensity.

Up until his departure from Paris in 1789, Jefferson's architecture had been strictly Palladian, an architectural style based upon the writings of the Venetian architect Andrea Palladio, but his time abroad changed this. In France, Jefferson studied both contemporary and ancient architecture, spending days studying both the Hotel de Salm and the Maison Carrée. In addition, Jefferson bought many books on modern French architecture.[26] His enthusiasm is evident in a letter to Pierre Charles L'Enfant, the original designer of Washington D.C., recommending buildings that should be used as models for the President's House: "and for the President's house I should prefer the celebrated fronts of Modern buildings which have already received the approbation of all good judges. Such are the Galerie du Louvre, the Garde meubles, and two fronts of the Hotel de Salm."[27] His architecture took on a progressive role, fusing more modern concepts with the structure and order of ancient buildings. The most significant aspect of Monticello that resulted from Jefferson's time in Paris was the absence of a central staircase. Historians differ on Jefferson's intended result: Burford Pickens suggests this to be a means of having a two storied house that still has a manageable floor space;[28] Frederick Doveton Nichols argues that Jefferson followed the vogue in Paris at the time for single floor homes that were several stories high;[29] Duncan Faherty states that the lack of central staircase highlights Jefferson's aversion to traditional social hierarchies.[30]

I argue that Jefferson's reasons for removing the central staircase lies somewhere in between these three theories, that Jefferson removed the central staircase in order to make room

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[25] Harold E. Dickinson, "Jefferson as Art Collector," in *Jefferson and the Arts: An Extended View*, ed. William Howard Adams (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1976), 111

[26] Frederick Doveton Nichols, "Jefferson: The Making of an Architect," in *Jefferson and the Arts: An Extended View*, ed. William Howard Adams (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1976), 167.

[27] Thomas Jefferson to Pierre Charles L'Enfant, April 10, 1791, in *Thomas Jefferson : Writings : Autobiography / Notes on the State of Virginia / Public and Private Papers / Addresses / Letters*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (Library of America, 1984), 976.

[28] Pickens, "Thomas Jefferson as Revolutionary Architect," 277.

[29] Nichols, "Jefferson: The Making of an Architect," 171.

[30] Duncan Faherty, *Remodeling the Nation: The Architecture of American Identity, 1776-1858* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2007), 30.

for his foyer, which would become a space central to Jefferson's education of his visitors. Pickens's and Nichols's views certainly must have come under Jefferson's consideration, however, given the importance of the foyer and Jefferson's very defined usage for it, I have concluded that Jefferson removed the staircase in order to make room for the foyer. Faherty's argument too, I think, also played a role in this decision, although perhaps more as a reaction against English style colonial architecture (and all of the baggage that it brought with it: colonialism, grievances against the English government, etc…) than specifically a rejection of social hierarchies. Certainly in the act of removing the staircase Jefferson disregarded the traditional notion of hierarchy in the home, but this was only an embedded idea in colonial architecture, which Jefferson desired to rid the landscape of. This central staircase can be seen clearly in two significant buildings of the time: first, at Mount Vernon, the home of George Washington, and second, at Bassett Hall, which was the home of Philip Johnson, a member of the House of Burgesses. Speaking against colonial architecture in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Jefferson stated: "The private buildings are very rarely constructed of stone or brick, much the greater portion being of scantling and boards, plaster with lime. It is impossible to devise things more ugly, uncomfortable, and happily more perishable."[31] Jefferson, I argue, rejected colonial architecture, and its central staircase, because of its impermanence and the embedded acceptance of English customs that it implied. This decision is emblematic of Jefferson's political philosophy as indicated by his private writings and public documents wherein he argues against English colonial practices. Moreover, Jefferson's decision indicates his aesthetic and political philosophies at the time, namely, the fusion of modern European practices and design rooted in antiquity.

Politically, Jefferson's philosophy was centered on the Roman Republic and modern European Enlightenment thinkers. Jefferson found inspiration and caution within the letters and works of the ancient Romans, and in Locke and Voltaire he found grounds for founding a free and equal society. This notion of the ancient melded with the contemporary is reflected as much in Jefferson's political philosophy as it is in his aesthetic philosophy. As seen at Monticello, Jefferson's time in Europe had a profound affect upon his artistic sentiments and Monticello was accordingly transformed from a Palladian building to a fusion of ancient and modern architectural styles that ultimately ran parallel to Jefferson's beliefs in politics. In addition to the

[31] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, in *Thomas Jefferson : Writings : Autobiography / Notes on the State of Virginia / Public and Private Papers / Addresses / Letters*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (Library of America, 1984), 274.

house itself acting as emblem, the physical location of Monticello can reveal much about Jefferson.

Jefferson's decision to place Monticello atop a hill indicates many things. First, Jefferson would spare no expense to achieve his vision of Monticello. As Robert F. Dalzell points out, the scarcity of labor and the expense of finding raw materials (which then had to be transported to a remote location) dug into Jefferson's pockets.[32] Second, the remoteness of Monticello suggests that privacy was a concern of Jefferson. As a man who spent most of his life as a prominent public servant in cities, Jefferson longed to spend time at Monticello. "I am as happy no where else and in no other society," Jefferson wrote in a letter to George Gilmer, "and all my wishes end, where I hope my days will end, at Monticello."[33] As Joseph Manca points out, this sentiment of Jefferson is typical of antiquity, conveying sentiments that Cicero, Pliny, Cincinnatus, and Virgil have all expressed throughout their combined literature.[34] Furthermore, the private home was closely tied to the cultivation of virtue, a primary concern of Jefferson's throughout his life. Joseph Manca discusses the home as place of virtue: "One's property was believed to be the physical place of virtue, where desires were under control, fate was moderated, the herd was excluded, and the vagaries of politics and public opinion were kept at bay."[35] In addition, Jefferson may have chosen the site due to his disdain for cities, and certainly it appealed to his specific aesthetic faculties.[36]

The concept of the home as a place of retreat was expressed not only by classical sources but also by Palladio in his work *The Four Books of Architecture*. Jefferson was a well-known advocate of Palladio's architectural writings, as evidenced by a letter to James Oldham in which he states: "There never was a Palladio here [in Washington] even in private hands till I brought one."[37] Palladio's *Four Books* contained a wealth of information on specific architectural features along with writings on the merits of rural life. Dalzell breaks down Palladio's bias towards the country when Dalzell states: "in the country, a gentleman, 'fatigued by the agitations of the city,' could be 'restored and comforted' through farming, recreation, and 'studies of letters and

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[32] Rovert F. Dalzell, Jr., "Constructing Independence: Monticello, Mount Vernon, and the Men Who Built Them," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 26 (1993): 549.
[33] Thomas Jefferson to George Gilmer, August 12, 1787, in vol. 12 of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd, Charles T. Cullen, John Catanzariti, Barbara B. Oberg, et al., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 26.
[34] Joesph Manca, "Cicero in America: Civic Duty and Private Happiness in Charles Willson Peale's Portrait of 'William Paca'," *American Art* 17 (2003): 79.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Gene Waddell, "The First Monticello," 6.
[37] Thomas Jefferson to James Oldham, December 24, 1804, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mtj.mtjbib014139.

contemplation.'"[38] Palladio's words offer an almost exact precursor to Jefferson's own views of the merits of rural life and the activities that Jefferson pursued while at Monticello. Whether intentionally following Palladio's advice or not, Monticello became an emblem of Jefferson's continuity of the rural ideal that stretched back as far as the Romans and through the Renaissance up until the Revolutionary Era.

Monticello, when examined through the lens of a visitor, reflects the personal philosophies of Jefferson through its structure, architectural style, and ideas embedded within the setting and construction of the house. Over the course of its construction the house adapted itself to the changes in Jefferson's ideas about art, aesthetics, and politics, and as a result the house is a singular document of the life of Jefferson. By examining the significant details and areas of the house that visitors would have seen and experienced we can gain an idea of what Jefferson's philosophies were at the time and how he wished himself to be seen by his visitors. Not only did the house reflect Jefferson's own views, he also utilized the house to instruct his visitors on a variety of subjects. Jefferson was never blind to the fact that his home would attract throngs of visitors, and so it did every year until his death. As a result, Jefferson's home was not only a private residence, but also a public building visited by many of the most esteemed persons in the world. With a large and distinguished visiting crowd, Jefferson took it unto himself to create a space that would be didactic.

Part Two: Monticello as Means

We may safely aver, that Mr. Jefferson is the first American who has consulted the fine arts to know how he should shelter himself for the weather.
-Marquis de Chastellux[39]

Duncan Faherty has argued that the domestic architectural style Jefferson sought for Americans, whose archetype was Monticello itself, was one that mirrored the political ethos of America itself.[40] The house reflected Jefferson's ideals and his political and aesthetic philosophy. In many ways, these were one and the same. Buford Pickens has argued that "Mr. Jefferson recognized early on the needs for both political and architectural reforms. He played a dual role as if it were singular, helping to overthrow constraining traditions in each area at precisely the

[38] Dalzell, "Constructing Independence," 558-559.
[39] Basil Hall, *Chastellux's Travels in North-America* (Applewood Books, 2007), 227.
[40] Faherty, *Remodeling the Nation*, 27.

same time."[41] In politics, Jefferson helped to "overthrow constraining traditions" through documents such as the Declaration of Independence and the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom while in architecture Monticello was his effort to change the way that Americans constructed and used domestic architecture. Lee Quinby has advanced this view, stating that: "Jefferson adumbrated what I call an aesthetics of virtue, a fusion of art and morals, whereby reflective beings are capable of discerning the path to virtue through aesthetic experience."[42] As a result, architecture, the most available means through which a rural citizen could have a positive aesthetic experience, was of the upmost importance to Jefferson. It provided an opportunity to aid the citizenry in attaining virtue, an element of a nation that Jefferson viewed as essential to its success. Monticello, Quinby argues, is an appropriate emblem of this view.[43]

If America was to succeed, an outcome that Jefferson's future as a politician and prominent citizen rested on, then a virtuous population needed to be cultivated. To cultivate one, Jefferson needed to find an architectural style that could provide the aesthetic experience needed to instill virtue in the viewer. Monticello became Jefferson's testing ground as he developed his style of architecture. While instilling virtue was one of Jefferson's main goals when designing Monticello, there were also other factors that influenced his design decisions. He also sought to both educate his visitors on the world around them and to show an example of a home that his fellow citizens would not simply admire, but also emulate.

My argument, put plainly, is that Monticello was constructed as an educational building. Education, to Jefferson, was of the utmost importance if America was to succeed. "Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone," Jefferson states in *Notes on the State of Virginia*. "The people themselves, therefore, are its only safe depositories. And to render them safe, their minds must be improved to a certain degree."[44] Here, Jefferson lays out the foundation of his argument in support of education. In order for America to succeed as a democratic nation, where power is distributed amongst the people, then the people themselves must improve themselves in order to improve their nation. Jefferson advocated for this cause his entire life. In a letter to George Wythe he states: "Preach, my dear Sir, a crusade against

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[41] Pickens, "Thomas Jefferson as Revolutionary Architect," 258.
[42] Lee Quinby, "Thomas Jefferson: The Virtue of Aesthetics and the Aesthetics of Virtue," *The American Historical Review* 87 (1982): 338.
[43] Ibid., 354.
[44] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, in *Thomas Jefferson : Writings : Autobiography / Notes on the State of Virginia / Public and Private Papers / Addresses / Letters*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (Library of America, 1984), 274.

ignorance; establish & improve the law for educating the common people."[45] Indeed, Jefferson pursued educational reform through both law and the establishment of universities. In 1817, Jefferson proposed a piece of legislation in Virginia, the Elementary School Act. Two years after, in 1819, Jefferson founded the University of Virginia, in Charlottesville. As can be seen, Jefferson advanced the cause of education through myriad channels within and without the political realm.

Monticello, I argue, was another channel Jefferson employed to educate the public. One might debate that Monticello was a private home, and hence not altogether related to the issues Jefferson championed politically. However, Monticello itself was never truly a private home. This is evidenced by Poplar Forest, Jefferson's second home in Bedford County, Virginia. Construction began in 1806 and, like Monticello, was continued until Jefferson's death in 1826. It was constructed as a retreat from Monticello, a space where Jefferson could spend time reading, writing, and studying. Jefferson, in a letter to Benjamin Rush: " I have fixed myself comfortably, keep some books here, bring others occasionally, am in the solitude of a hermit, and quite at leisure to attend to my absent friends."[46] Poplar Forest became Jefferson's true retreat while Monticello was filled with family and guests.

Between 1790 and 1826, Monticello permanently housed anywhere from three to fifteen people at a time. Jefferson's daughter, Martha Jefferson Randolph lived in the home with her husband Thomas Mann Randolph and their eleven children. In addition to this already crowded household, Jefferson was perpetually inundated with guests.[47] Henry S. Randall, in his 1858 biography of Jefferson cites a family member stating: "We had persons from abroad, from all the States of the Union, from every part of the State, men women, and children. In short, almost every day for at least eight months of the year, brought its contingent of guests."[48] Furthermore, both eminent and common guests to Monticello expected lodging given its remote location and the customs of the day. This, along with the costs of construction, drove Jefferson deeper into debt. Nevertheless, Jefferson decided to utilize the steady stream of visitors as best he could, not missing an opportunity to advance his personal political agenda through the education of his visitors. Susan R. Stein stated of Jefferson's desire to educate his fellow citizens: "The only

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[45] Thomas Jefferson to George Wythe, August 13, 1786, in Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, in *Thomas Jefferson : Writings : Autobiography / Notes on the State of Virginia / Public and Private Papers / Addresses / Letters*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (Library of America, 1984), 859.
[46] Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Rush, August 17, 1811, in *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Adrienna Koch and William Peden (Modern Library, 1998), 562-563.
[47] Dalzell, "Constructing Independence," 575.
[48] Henry S. Randall, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1858), 3:330.

means to assure a population capable of making informed decisions was to edify it, and Jefferson seized every opportunity to do so."[49] Jefferson consciously used both the interior and exterior of the house as educational tools, both of which I will explore in detail to determine their specific function.

It seems most logical to begin my analysis of the exterior of Monticello with the entrance to the home, following the path every visitor to the house would have taken. To reach the house, one travels on a winding road around the mountain, climbing the way amidst the crop fields and forests that surround the house. The oblique entryway was an oddity for the time, with a majority of homes favoring a frontal drive that led one directly to the front doors. Lord Kames, who, as discussed earlier, was studied by Jefferson, stated in *Elements of Criticism* that a house should both be situated loftily and utilize an oblique entrance. The extent to which Jefferson followed Kames's advice or devised the entrance and location of the house on his own is a matter to be debated elsewhere, but what is evident is the peculiarity of the house itself. In ancient (e.g., the Acropolis in Athens and the Palace of Augustus on the Palatine Hill in Rome) and modern developments locations on higher elevations are often desirable, but this was not the case in Revolutionary America. There would be many practical difficulties to overcome when building a house on a hill, namely: finding a secure source of water, transporting raw materials to the building site, finding workers to travel to the home, and performing intensive foundational work. Monticello was a thoroughly unusual house in innumerable ways, and the entrance to the house would have immediately signaled that to any visitors, perhaps piquing their interest in the house to come before they had even set eyes upon it. This effect that may have made Jefferson's educational attempts more successful.

The entrance to the house itself is a Doric-ordered portico topped with a triangular pediment. An immediate reference to classical architecture, the entrance would have signaled to any traveler that they were about to enter the home of a man with great interest in antiquity. As argued earlier, Jefferson's decision to utilize ancient architectural styles for the foundation of Monticello's design was both internally and externally motivated. Internally, Monticello represents Jefferson's education and interest in the classics, acting as an emblem of his personal political and aesthetic beliefs. Externally, I argue, Monticello was intended to be a source of education in what Lee Quinby has titled the "aesthetics of virtue." She states of this concept: "I have derived the phrase 'aesthetics of virtue' from the persistence in Jefferson's language of

[49] Faherty, *Remodeling the Nation*, 34.

aesthetic images and metaphors, from his belief that humans possess 'an innate sense of what we call *the beautiful*', and, finally, from his assertion that 'the nobler kinds' of art are those 'which arouse the best feelings of man, which call him into action, which substantiate his free, and conduct him to happiness.'"[50] These 'nobler kinds' of art that Jefferson speaks of include architecture, and specifically classically inspired buildings. Monticello was indeed just that, a noble, classical home.

By employing Quinby's aesthetics of virtue, we can examine Monticello as a piece of architecture that was employed by Jefferson as a means of both creating a more virtuous republic and spreading a virtuous style of architecture that could be employed by others to further Jefferson's plan for America. We can do so because Jefferson himself explicitly set and built Monticello in order to elicit an aesthetic experience from all who went there. On the setting of Monticello, Jefferson continually points out the beauty and exhilaration that is experienced from the mountaintop. " How sublime," Jefferson states, "to look down into the workhouse of nature, to see her clouds, hail, snow, rain, thunder, all fabricated at our feet!"[51] On the design of the house itself, Jefferson utilized the concepts of space and proportion outlined by Palladio and Lord Kames. By doing so, Jefferson constructed a building with the goal in mind of creating a powerful aesthetic experience, which then appealed to the visitors' sense of virtue and morality.

Next, the first room that any visitor to Monticello would enter would be the foyer. The foyer was furnished with twenty-eight chairs, all faced forwards and in rows of seven. Here visitors to Monticello would sit in waiting until Jefferson was able to greet his guests. The foyer, aside from serving its primary purpose as a waiting room, served a second purpose as a veritable museum of American history and art. On display at any given time would be: artifacts recovered from the Lewis and Clark expedition, John Trumbull's depiction of the signing of the Declaration of Independence[52], a variety of maps, busts of prominent thinkers, animal skulls, and curios from across America. Here, visitors would sit for any number of hours while Jefferson

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[50] For further reading and evidence of Quinby's theory, see Quinby, Lee. "Thomas Jefferson: The Virtue of Aesthetics and the Aesthetics of Virtue." The American Historical Review 87, no. 2 (April 1982): 337–356 and James L., Golden, and Golden Alan L. Thomas Jefferson and the Rhetoric of Virtue. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002), 38-40.

[51] Thomas Jefferson to Maria Cosway, October 12, 1786, in Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, in *Thomas Jefferson : Writings : Autobiography / Notes on the State of Virginia / Public and Private Papers / Addresses / Letters*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (Library of America, 1984), 870.

[52] Jefferson stated of Trumbull's series of paintings on the Revolution: "monuments of taste as well as of the great revolutionary scenes of our country." In addition to utilizing the painting as an expression of republican morals, Jefferson also used it as a means of improving the aesthetic faculties of citizens in a similar way that Monticello was intended to. From a letter, Thomas Jefferson to James Barbour, January 19, 1817, quoted in Theodore Sizer, ed., *The Autobiography of Colonel John Trumbull* (New Haven: 1953), 310.

worked, taking in the objects around them. Jefferson's intent in the foyer is clear: to educate his visitors on a wide variety of subjects while they waited for their host to arrive. This was not the comfortable waiting room guests would have experienced in a traditional mansion, but was instead a hot, uncomfortable room filled with objects intended to instruct. A well-rounded education was essential to becoming a virtuous citizen, Jefferson believed. In his Report to the Commissioners for the University of Virginia, Jefferson advocated for a wide-ranging curriculum that would then lead to a moral citizenry: "To instruct the mass of our citizens in these, their rights, interests and duties, as men and citizens, being then the objects of education in the primary schools, whether privet or public, in them should be taught reading, writing and numerical arithmetic, the elements of mensuration...and the outlines of geography and history."[53] The foyer represents Jefferson's tangible efforts to educate the public and improve themselves as citizens.

Jefferson attempted to improve the mental faculties in a similar manner. In his own letters and writings on architecture, Jefferson placed a heavy emphasis upon the external design of the building. In a letter to James Madison in 1780, Jefferson stated: "But how is a taste in this beautiful art to be formed in our countrymen, unless we avail ourselves of every occasion when public buildings are to be erected, of presenting to them models for their study and imitation?"[54] Jefferson used Monticello as an attempt to accomplish exactly what he encouraged Madison to do, to use any and all potential buildings as a way to heighten the aesthetics faculties of the citizenry. As discussed previously, Monticello was in many ways a public building and as a result can be viewed as a "[model] for their study and imitation." Following his own instructions to Madison, Jefferson designed Monticello so that it would have a great educational effect on all its visitors. Jefferson, later in his letter to Madison, outlines his reasons for taking education on the arts, and architecture particularly, as a serious, national concern. "You see I am an enthusiast on the subject of the arts. But it is an enthusiasm of which I am not ashamed, as its object is to improve the taste of my countrymen, to increase their reputation, to reconcile them to the rest of the world, and procure them its praise."[55] Jefferson was exquisitely aware of America's own lack

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[53] Thomas Jefferson, "Report of the Commissioners for the University of Virginia," in *Thomas Jefferson : Writings : Autobiography / Notes on the State of Virginia / Public and Private Papers / Addresses / Letters*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (Library of America, 1984), 459.
[54] Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, September 20, 1785, in *Thomas Jefferson : Writings : Autobiography / Notes on the State of Virginia / Public and Private Papers / Addresses / Letters*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (Library of America, 1984), 829.
[55] Ibid., 829.

of established history in the arts, and without such it was difficult to educate the public on aesthetic considerations.

During Jefferson's time the most available form of art was architecture. Indeed, Jefferson himself saw few original works of art or artists themselves during the whole of his education. It was not until 1766 when Jefferson departed on a trip to Annapolis, Philadelphia, and New York that he got his first true experience with the arts.[56] Upon his arrival in New York Jefferson met with Dr. John Morgan, a well-respected physician and amateur classicist who had also taken a Grand Tour of Europe in his twenties. In addition to meeting many of the great minds of the Enlightenment,[57] Dr. Morgan developed a discerning taste in the arts, one that certainly affected the young Jefferson. Here we can see the extremely limited availability of the arts in America at the time Jefferson began to build Monticello (he visited Dr. Morgan in 1766, and in 1769 Jefferson began construction). Even for one so aesthetically minded as Jefferson, it took a great deal of effort to find a person with a similar enthusiasm for the arts. With this in mind, Jefferson took the most available means and began to use them to increase the stature of America, which, at this time, was centuries lacking in cultural history, a factor that certainly affected international relations with Europe at the time. In a young nation with little infrastructure, the establishment of public art museums was out of the question, and so Jefferson fell to architecture, that which is ever-present in any community, in order to educate the people of America.

To Jefferson's mind, architecture was the most fundamental of the arts. Perhaps out of circumstance or preference, Jefferson did not appreciate paintings as much as architecture, though in Jefferson's eyes a painting could be appreciable if it had a moral message.[58] From this view we can draw two conclusions. First, that Jefferson appreciated art that had a moral property, and therefore, that Jefferson believed that well-constructed architecture had morality. Almost certainly Jefferson would have considered his own architecture as well constructed, and thus we can draw our second conclusion, that Jefferson designed Monticello so as to have a conscious moral element to its design. With this morality built into Monticello we can examine not only its explicit attempts to educate its visitors, but we can also examine the building itself as an attempt to educate its visitors on aesthetics, morality, and virtue, three values that Jefferson believed were integral to the success of America.

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[56] Seymour Howard, "Thomas Jefferson's Art Gallery for Monticello," *The Art Bulletin* 59 (1977): 584.
[57] During his travels from 1760-1765, Dr. Morgan had interactions with Voltaire, Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Angelica Kauffman, and James Byers. For more information about Dr. Morgan's trip, see Seymour Howard, "T.J.'s Art Gallery for Monticello", 584.
[58] Hafertepe, "An Inquiry into Thomas Jefferson's Ideas of Beauty," 217.

Before I continue further in my analysis of Monticello it must be noted that Jefferson did not, in any of his writings, address the usage of Greek and Roman architecture as a means of instilling Roman Republican virtues and morals in the population.[59] It is certainly tempting to draw innumerable narratives about Jefferson's usage of Roman architecture and their relation to the political philosophies of the American Revolution. To state that Monticello and the Capitol building (whose design Jefferson approved) were designed to instill the chaste, virtuous values of Cato the Elder and Cicero would be inaccurate, yet the buildings *were* designed to instill virtue itself, independently of Roman notions of *virtus*.[60] Kenneth Hafertepe states that the Virginia State Capitol building was "didactic not because it appealed to the moral sense but because it appealed to the sense of beauty; by providing the citizenry with a concrete example of universally approved beauty, the Virginia State Capitol would exercise Virginians' underdeveloped -- but innate -- aesthetic sense."[61] And so, as discussed previously, by appealing to citizens' aesthetic senses Jefferson intended to increase their virtue. Through Roman architecture, Jefferson found a style "which has received the approbation of near 2000 years, and which is sufficiently remarkable to have been visited by all travellers."[62] It was a tried and true architectural style that Jefferson could utilize and modify to fit the unique set of circumstances that the newly founded nation created.

Architecture, in any community, is integral to its success. It is the tool with which a space is established and defined, outlining the structure and future of the area. In the aftermath of the Revolutionary War, Jefferson became concerned with the establishment of local communities. These local communities were, to Jefferson, the foundation upon which a nation could be built. This is due in large part to Jefferson's socioeconomic vision of America wherein agrarianism was central to economic progress and maturity.[63] In *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Jefferson expresses his extreme distaste with the architecture of Virginia that was not only aesthetically displeasing but also structurally threatening to Virginia's economic progress. Jefferson states:

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[59] Ibid., 224.
[60] Paul F. Norton, "Thomas Jefferson and the Planning of the National Capitol," in *Jefferson and the Arts: An Extended View*, ed. William Howard Adams (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1976), 196-200.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Thomas Jefferson to James Currie, January 28, 1786, in vol. 9 of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd, Charles T. Cullen, John Catanzariti, Barbara B. Oberg, et al., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 240.
[63] Maurizio Valsania, "'Our Original Barbarism': Man vs. Nature in Thomas Jefferson's Moral Experience," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65 (2004): 629.

"The genius of architecture seems to have shed its maledictions over this land…"[64] Jefferson continues in his critique:

> The private buildings are very rarely constructed of stone or brick; much the greatest proportion being of scantling and boards, plaistered with lime. It is impossible to devise things more ugly, uncomfortable, and happily more perishable. There are two or three plans, on one of which, according to its size, most of the houses in the state are built. [65]

In this passage, Jefferson highlights his aesthetic opposition to the homes being built in Virginia at the time. As Duncan Faherty argues, Jefferson saw the uniformity of houses as a rejection by Virginians of local culture and aesthetic consideration.[66] Furthermore, the blind reproduction of houses posed a serious threat to Jefferson's intention to raise the aesthetic faculties of Americans. By the time *Notes on the State of Virginia* was written Jefferson had already begun to rebuild Monticello, indicating that the home had not yet had the affect on the public that Jefferson desired. Jefferson was stuck at an impasse that William Howard Adams has highlighted: "The dilemma was how to establish a foundation for the arts in America without accepting the time-honored conditions of wealth and rank in which they flourished."[67] Jefferson's attempt overcome this issue was, at Monticello, the removal of the central staircase to accommodate and educate more visitors, and, elsewhere, to build more buildings in Jefferson's particular architectural style that fused classical architecture with modern designs. Five years after the publishing of *Notes*, Jefferson held a competition for the design of the United States Capitol during which he successfully contended for a classically inspired building style, a style that was later reflected in the President's House and Virginia State Capitol. However, Jefferson's locus of contention with Virginia's architecture in the late 1700's was not limited to aesthetic considerations, but it also included the deteriorating quality of the homes. Jefferson states of this:

> A country whose buildings are of wood, can never increase in its improvements to any considerable degree. Their duration is highly estimated at 50 years. Every half century then our country becomes a tabula rasa, whereon we have to set out anew, as in the first moment of seating it. Whereas when buildings are of durable materials, every new edifice is an actual and permanent acquisition to the state, adding to its value as well as to its ornament.[68]

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[64] Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 279.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Faherty, *Remodeling the Nation,* 24.
[67] William Howard Adams, ed., *The Eye of Thomas Jefferson*, xxxviii.
[68] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 280.

This, I contend, reflects Jefferson's true concern with Virginian architecture and in many ways shaped the way that Monticello was built and rebuilt. Faherty, in his analysis of this passage, isolates three major consequences of this activity. Firstly, it indicates the general sentiment of the American experiment up until this point, which was focused on expansion and movement westward (away from British seats of power that were located primarily along the coasts with easy access to England). Secondly, it prevents the establishment of a society whereupon generations can build onwards and upwards from what their forerunners had accomplished. Thirdly, without the first two problems being reconciled, it is unlikely that a stable government and community would be able to be established. This was particularly troubling to Jefferson, whose agrarian ideal of America could never be accomplished so long as these "ugly, uncomfortable, and happily more perishable" homes continued to be built. Essential to the cause of creating stable, local, agricultural communities was the construction of homes that would last for generations and could be remodeled and expanded as the circumstances directed. Faherty states: "The absence of an architectural landscape that fosters a permanent connection to a local community will, Jefferson implies, condemn the Republic to an entirety of new beginnings." *Notes* seeks to counter that possibility by promoting building and architectural practices that foster rooted stability, going so far as to condemn anything that allows for the continuance of customs or methods that enable change and mobility.[69] Monticello, Faherty contends, was Jefferson's attempt to build his proper vision for America.[70] On the subject of Jefferson's attempt to educate his visitors, Faherty argues that it was the foyer alone that Jefferson utilized to educate his visitors.[71] I agree with Faherty's conclusion broadly, but I have found that the whole of Monticello was a built example for his guests to learn from. Building off of Faherty's core ideas, Monticello was educational not only as an aesthetic model for Virginians, but also as a prototypical house that could be emulated by farmers in Virginia. If, as Jefferson states, a "tabula rasa" were created every fifty years, then the economic and cultural effects would be enough to disrupt colonial society. Monticello was an attempt to establish a permanent, yet flexible, society that, like the Constitution, could be modified and expanded according to the needs of society.

Conclusion

[69] Faherty, *Remodeling the Nation*, 24-25.
[70] Ibid, 27.
[71] Ibid, 34.

At Monticello it is possible to glean a great deal of information about Jefferson and his life. His gardens, inventions, and writings give great insight into the man and his habits, but what has been understudied in all of the work done on Monticello is how the house interacted with the near constant flow of visitors that it received. These visitors were a major part of life at Monticello and required the constant attention of both Jefferson and his household and accordingly, it is important to study how the house was designed to receive these visitors and how Jefferson intended them to view him and his home. I argue that Monticello functioned towards visitors in two main ways: first as an emblem of Jefferson's views on architecture and politics, and second as a means of education and influencing his visitors in order to advance Jefferson's personal political agenda. When one traces the way that visitors would have moved through the house and grounds beginning with the winding road up the hillside and ending in the foyer it is clear that Jefferson used his home as a way to influence and affect his visitors. The French-Palladian design of the interior and exterior of the house reflected Jefferson's liberal approach to both architecture and politics, utilizing the best aspects of multiple influences in order to create a building and government that was wholly new and yet grounded in tested methodologies and approaches. Additionally, the setting of the house on a hill displays Jefferson's ancient sentiments as well as his aesthetic philosophy that the beauty of the Virginian landscape, which was viewed in its prime from the top of Monticello, could inspire virtue in the viewer. Once inside the home, the removal of the central staircase so as to make room for Jefferson's educational foyer was not insignificant. It displayed not only Jefferson's aversion to traditional English architecture that emphasized the hierarchy between visitor and owner and the aristocratic principles that were expressed by such a feature but also his desire to educate and raise the aesthetic and moral faculties of his visitors. Through each of these features we can see clearly that Monticello, while a private home, catered in many important ways to the visiting public. Monticello became an expression of Jefferson's personal views and a means of achieving his political agenda all while pioneering a new style of architecture that he believed could advance and elevate American culture and society above and beyond that of Europe while also establishing a nation that was stable and successful.

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